3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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584 539 relatives together, the mother's relatives being seated on the south and the father's on the north side of the lodge. The father's relatives left the decision with the mother's relatives, who decided that the girl should be allowed to marry the young man. Many presents were [431] distributed. The young man's relatives gave presents, and the young man gave a fine horse to the father and mother of the girl. The next day the old man gave the horse to his wife. There were buffalo robes and many valuable articles among the presents.

539 593 All went well for a time, and then the young man began to beat his wife and abuse her. The girl's mother begged her father to interfere, but he refused to do so. She said, "You claim to be a brave man; why do you not make our son-in-law stop beating his wife?"

He said, "Do you remember one beautiful morning when you said the young man was handsome, that he came of good family, had many horses, and his arms were strong?"

"Yes."

"Do you remember that my relatives sat on the north and yours on the south side of the lodge, and that my relatives left the decision to yours?"

"Yes."

"So your people sold our daughter to that man. We have no right to interfere with his property. He gave the ponies. He gave a fine pony to us. Didn't I give you that pony?"

"Yes."

"Get a kettle. Put it on the fire and put water in it." She did so.

[415 251] "Now take your parflèche bag and put the finest of your dried meat in the pot. When the soup is done you must bring me some in a wooden bowl."

When she brought the soup he told her to sit beside him and eat. As they ate he said, "What nice fat! What fine meat this is! Who got it for you?"

"Our son-in-law."

"You like the meat that our son-in-law brings us? He punishes our daughter for her own good. He does not want her to run around the camp foolishly. He wants her to be a good cook and to look after things in the lodge."

Then the woman stopped finding fault with her son-in-law.

The young man was well liked by the chiefs. They asked him to join their societies and later he became a chief. He and his wife had one child, a boy. This little boy liked to stay with his grandfather, who told him stories. His grandfather was Sarĭtsaris (Mad Chief), a brave man of the Chaui Band. The little boy cooled his [264 867] grandfather's mush or soup by swinging the dish back and forth, then he set it before the old man.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

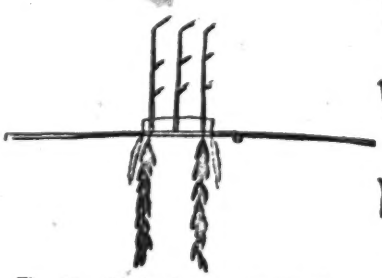

**Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.**

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it: "Make my other teeth grow quickly."

The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



household, even though his marriage might lead him to take up residence elsewhere. For this reason, according to Pawnee ideas, the brother owed his sister a special lifelong debt. In recognition of his indebtedness, when the sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's married-in household when he was about ten years old. There his maternal uncle would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and as he reached adolescence he would receive his first sex instruction from one of his uncle's wives. If his uncle had several wives, the boy might extend his attentions to the others from time to time. The term for maternal nephew was *tiwat* and maternal uncle, *tiwatciriks*, super- or real-*tiwat*.

Another basic Pawnee family pattern concerning the man, was the identification of a whole group of brothers. Through the rule of primogeniture the oldest brother inherited all the family property and as senior member of the group was responsible for the well-being of all his younger brothers. A younger brother who availed himself of the sexual favors of his older brother's wife upon occasion was not considered out of order, and theoretically the older brother should act like a gentleman, paying no attention and making no mention of it. This ideal, however, was not always realized. It was fairly usual form for two or more brothers to set up a joint household, sharing their wives and their property. The children addressed them all as fathers and mothers and they in turn addressed all the children as their own. A similar but not identical condition might exist among a group of sisters married to the same man, the children addressing all the sisters as mother. A group of brothers would address each other as *irari*, and the same term was used among a group of sisters. But across the line of sex different terms that were more precise were used: a man's sister was referred to as *itahi* and a woman's brother, as *iratsti*. Under the difficult conditions of Pawnee life, a child gained considerable security from this multiple parenthood. As the Pawnees phrased it: "We think a child should not be too closely bound to its own mother, for should she have to be away or should she die, it would break the child's heart."

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, a style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners as he came in contact with one after another of his normal associates.

As the depth of the relationship merits, the Pawnee child was taught to treat his mother with profound respect. The term *atira*, "my mother," carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnees. However, the mode of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is ordinarily in our society. The mother was concerned at all times for her child. She provided for him and instructed him in how to act in his own

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24 ]

571 521 [551] and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 858 867 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not [601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term [551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 572 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the [926] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 [926] Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar, [539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

| | |
|---|---|
| *sirawari i* | They two who are traveling, |
| *tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a* | Alone, they two who are traveling, |
| *tsapat-i witiwaku* | A young woman, it is said that she says: |
| *sikatasiwaktiks-a* | I wonder if they two are true (to each other). |

*tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a-a*

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured within the house even when only two were sitting together. First there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

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the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of